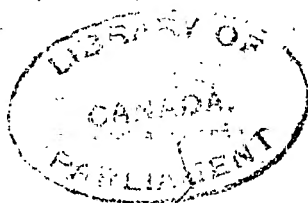


*The Forces
of
Reconstruction*

By WILLIAM IRVINE, M.P.



LABOUR PUBLISHING COMPANY
OTTAWA — CANADA

FIRST EDITION

Published and Distributed by
LABOUR PUBLISHING COMPANY
228 LAURIER AVE., WEST,
OTTAWA, CANADA.

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THE FORCES OF RECONSTRUCTION

*A Review of World-Conditions under
Capitalism, and the forces working
towards the Co-Operative
Commonwealth
by William Irvine, M.P.*

PRICE, TEN CENTS

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FOREWORD

THE WORLD drifts on with little or no effort at setting a new course. The stern realities of a developing situation are studiously evaded, never actually faced with courage and determination. The attitude of mind of bankers, editors and others who hold influential positions in our present social order is that, "if people will only continue to suffer, everything will come out right in the end". Occasionally there is a flutter in the stock-market, perhaps caused by designed manipulation, and prices rise a fraction. This is at once proclaimed as the beginning of the "upswing of the cycle". This has occurred over and over since 1929, and Mr. Babson, who shouted these "upswings" through the megaphone of the press for years, like an announcer at a country fair, has vanished from the scene. Here and there, from time to time, a few hundred men are put to work and the shouters immediately announce that unemployment is fast disappearing. In reality, however, the economic situation grows organically and progressively worse, and will continue to do so as long as we drift helplessly in the current of last century's views.

More and more the conviction grows, as the times become more menacing, that there is no easy and speedy way of escape; that there are no supermen in whom unwavering confidence can be placed. On the other hand, the belief grows that the people must save themselves; that democracy must be organized and educated to protect itself; that co-operation is the only practical method of modern human relationships; that individualism and competition are destructive, and that if they are allowed to proceed to their logical end they will destroy themselves and us together.

In order that the people may decide upon a new and safe policy it is not necessary that every individual in society; nor that even a majority of them should have a full knowledge of the technical details involved in the working out of that policy. Let the people decide upon a

policy based upon their needs, and leave it to the technical experts to work it out. There is nothing unusual about that procedure. Indeed, that is the course usually followed. Here, for instance, is a community. There is a river running between that community and its marketplace. Everyone sees the need of building a bridge across the river, and it is decided by means of a vote that a bridge be built. Perhaps not a single one of those voting could build the bridge or have even the slightest technical knowledge regarding the undertaking. The government knows just as little; it can't build the bridge, either, but it can find the engineers who do know how to build the bridge, and the government does that and the bridge is built. In the same way, the public know that they have not enough money and that they have too much debt, but they are ignorant of the technique of finance. They neither know the details of the present system nor of any other which might be substituted for it. Nevertheless, if they will vote for a financial system which will supply the right amount of money and do it without putting the nation into debt, the technicians will have no more difficulty in doing that, than the engineers have in building a bridge.

In formulating an adequate policy for the future it is necessary for the people to grasp only a very few essential general principles. These may be put very briefly and simply: (1) abundance can be produced for all; (2) abundance is not being distributed; (3) abundance can be distributed; (4) a policy of distribution which will bring real consumption nearer to our capacity to produce can be obtained by means of the ballot. If the people will vote for this, a C.C.F. government will guarantee to find technicians to do the job. With a view to maturing conviction on the above simple points, and also in order to show the dangers which menace the people if action is delayed, it is necessary to look at the whole economic field in a general way.

WM. IRVINE.

Ottawa, Canada,
June 1, 1934.

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The Forces of Reconstruction

CHAPTER I

THE WORLD-SCENE

It is essential that we endeavour to envisage the whole world-scene now presented to us. We are part of it and cannot be considered as isolated. By seeing the world-problem as a whole, we are not only able better to determine our own action in relation thereto, but we can also test the soundness of our principles in the blazing fires of reality; we can gain encouragement from the fact that the people on every front of civilization in every country of the world are fighting the same battle that we are fighting, and that a victory for one sector is in fact a partial victory for democracy everywhere; and, further, if we are to make a true estimate of the magnitude of the task of directing the affairs of civilization toward some worth-while human end, and if we are to play our part intelligently in an interdependent world, we must bring our vision to focus on the problem as a whole.

We must, however, always bear in mind that in studying the world-problem as a whole, our aim is not to govern the whole world, but rather to fit ourselves better to govern our little part of it in relation to the whole. For instance, the chief reason for the failure of all international conferences is the fact that not one of the nations represented at any conference ever tried to act at home prior to the conference in such a way as to give the international effort the slightest chance of success.

A World Gone Mad

Anyone who has a weak heart had better put his glass eye to the telescope before we bring it to bear upon some of the realities of the world of our time. Here is a world indeed gone mad. Money at this moment has unquestionably usurped the place of Deity in this planet's affairs.

in spite of two thousand years of Christian teaching. Unreason sits upon the throne of an age unequalled in the story of all time for scientific knowledge; the poverty of the world's masses is matched by the surplus wealth which they are not permitted to use; our capacity to produce the commodities essential to human well-being is equalled only by our capacity to suffer for lack of them; prosperity, which is the greatest achievement of science and mechanical genius combined, and which scientists welcome as the means of releasing mankind from the economic bondage of the brute, is at this moment, through the system in vogue, the greatest enemy of the race. In such a world we see that man's technical knowledge and genius in production have far outstripped his social engineering; that his head has overrun his heart, that his mind in material matters has outraced his mind in social ethics.

A Capitalistic Surplus

In the midst of this paradoxical jumble, we see an economic system kept alive beyond its day, sustained artificially by the political power of its benefactors, and at the expense of the masses. In every industrialized country of the world there is a capitalistic surplus which, though inevitable to the system, just as inevitably defeats the profit purpose of the system as well as the human purpose which an economic system should achieve. A capitalistic surplus, it must be remembered, differs from a consumers' surplus. A capitalistic surplus occurs when there are more goods than can be sold at a profit price, even though there are more than enough consumers in need of such goods, whereas a consumers' surplus means an excess of goods over and above the capacity to consume.

Consumers' Scarcity

Since the condition of distributing this capitalistic surplus is the obtaining of a profit price, capitalists will do anything under heaven with it rather than allow it to fall into the hands of consumers. So they plow down

cotton in Texas, utilize wheat for fuel in Manitoba, burn coffee in Brazil and kill embryonic hogs in Denmark and the United States, while the cotton, wheat, coffee and pork thus destroyed would have helped to feed and clothe many of the needy people of the world. Examples of capitalistic destruction such as these indicate the bankruptcy of its statesmanship. Instead of using the abundance within reach, the achievements of history are repudiated and nature scorned by throwing back, in her very face the bounties she has offered.

Futile Competition

We see also in this world mad-house, that one nation blindly strives to sell its surplus of goods at a profit price to other nations, regardless of the fact that these other nations have a surplus of the same sort of goods. For instance, Germany tries to sell machinery to Britain and Britain tries to sell machinery to Germany. Then the Germans build a tariff wall to keep out British machines, and the British build a tariff wall to keep out German machines. Thus the stupid struggle goes on.

The more the world becomes industrialized, the less foreign market there is for the capitalistic surplus in all the industrialized nations. As the foreign market diminishes through industrialization, competition between the capitalists of each nation for the largest share of such markets as remain is intensified. The military power being in the hands of the capitalists of each nation, through their control of governments, they eventually go to war.

War is Inevitable

So we see a world in which goods were never more plentiful and starvation was never so universal, in which tariffs were never higher and human well-being never lower; in which there was never less money in relation to national wealth nor greater debts, a world in which war appears to be more imminent than it did at the beginning of 1914.

Japan is hungry for territory. She has taken Manchukuo, invaded China and threatens to attack Russia for a slice of Siberia; Italy and Germany, both land-hungry, with populations increasing and governed by dictators who extol the virtues of war and teach that military power and excellence are the sure way to peace and plenty, will, when they are ready, pounce upon any country promising the greatest spoils. When these wars break, they may bring about the complete destruction of the race.

The capitalistic surplus which sooner or later must end in another war, accounts also for about one hundred million unemployed, including their families. Capitalism has no knowledge of how to employ this ever-increasing army of the workless, except to set them at work murdering each other. And this must surely be the result, if we drift on in the direction we are now going, and the greatest tragedy of all is that even war, with all its known hellishness, may be welcomed even by the people themselves in their unhealthy reaction from the despair which now envelops them.

Pathetic Infantilism

Meanwhile the administrators of the system are exhibiting amazing infantilism. Their stupidity is even greater than their power to do harm. At home they have provided meagrely for the unemployed by increasing taxation on the employed; they have preserved, always by threats of violence and at times by actual violence, the capitalistic system for capitalists; and they have steadied the tottering debt-structure when it threatened to fall of its own accord from the backs of the people.

In their international efforts, capitalistic administrators have produced no better results. The World Economic Conference, held in London in the summer of 1933, at once the most heralded hope of capitalism and the most pretentious in display, was the greatest fiasco in history. It might have been fittingly described as a pack of hungry wolves fighting over the dead carcass of a lamb which was just out of reach of all of them. And the

efforts made toward international peace were almost as spectacular in their failure. The Disarmament Conference went to pieces, resulting in the breaking away of Germany from the League of Nations, her repudiation of the Versailles treaty, and the beginning of another mad race in armaments to see which of the nations of the world will be ready first to engage in the next war.

There is our world in its stark reality. I have shown you the scenes it presents. They involve our very lives. We have seen in our glance at the world the economic situation, the system's breakdown, the governmental indolence, the insolence and impotence of capitalistic administrators, and the inevitability of war. There is a point of real and imminent danger in each. Let us briefly note these danger-points, that we may devote ourselves to the effort to escape them.

Prevent a Total Wreck

The first point of danger to be noted is that of the complete wreck of the system as a result of the incompetence of its controllers. It may be, as some contend, that the wreck of the system will provide our opportunity. If that were the only opportunity by means of which to escape the present dilemma, we might well welcome it. But that would not be an opportunity; rather would it be the end of opportunity. What would that wreck mean? Do not forget that the old ship of the present system, although a derelict and drifting to the shoals, is loaded. Her cargo is civilization, and we are the passengers. There is the utmost danger both to cargo and passengers if she is allowed to drift helplessly to her doom. Would it not be preferable to take the prospective wreck in tow, to moor it in the port of intelligence, disembark the passengers, and unload the cargo. Then we might put the old boat in the museum of time as noted for having carried more real knowledge and stupidity in one cargo than any other craft known to man. It is all very well to rock the boat, just because it is the capitalist boat, but we must always remember that we are in it.

Capitalism should be changed by intelligent action, not by wrecking it. It is probable that, a month after the wreck at least fifty percent of the human race would have perished either of hunger and cold or at each other's hands. One has but to attempt to visualize what would happen to cities like Toronto or Montreal, say in the middle of winter, were the water mains to be destroyed, electricity cut off and the railways stopped. Thousands would die of cold the first day, and hundreds of thousands would perish of hunger inside a month. Such happenings would result in such monstrous and indescribable disaster that the mind revolts against entertaining the idea as a possibility. And yet, if nothing is done to alter our course, that is what will happen. Water mains, power-houses and railways may not be destroyed by revolutionists; they will stop functioning because profit will not be forthcoming from their operation. Already Toronto has cut off the water supply of some of its suburban areas, and the railroads at this moment are being run by government assistance and not by drawing on profits. But the assistance of governments has been given in the form of borrowed money, and borrowed money means growing debt, and there is a limit to the point to which debts can grow and still be profitable. That limit has almost been reached, and when we eventually get there, every agency of production, transportation, and service will stop as completely as if they had been blown up by revolutionists.

Shall we wait meekly for destruction to happen? Has it not occurred to us that we who are so afraid of revolution, of human destruction and bloodshed, are by our acquiescence in the present drift inviting a human disaster more ghastly and destructive than all the revolutions in history put together? Is there no human way of sanity by which to avoid the awful destruction toward which capitalism is drifting?

Capitalist Dictatorship

Another danger of the present situation is Fascism, or capitalist dictatorship. Already this latest insanity has

taken possession of two countries, Germany and Italy. That means that capitalism will drift in these countries to its inevitable doom under the ever-watchful eye of a dictator. This evil thing known as Fascism is taking root in other countries. Its seeds have been planted in Canada. The despair of the people on the one hand, and the gilded promises of Fascism on the other, and, more than anything else, its promise of action, continue to entrap the people to their own destruction. Our young people, discouraged in their enforced idleness, and with the normal urge of youth for action, opportunity, ambition and adventure denied them, may rally even against their better judgment to the attractive hurrah of uniformed militaristic storm-troops.

The Fascist promises are attractive. They do not openly oppose democracy in this country, but, once the reins of power have settled in their hands, they will drive rough-shod over every human liberty here as they do in other countries.

Shirts

We should beware of the magic of a shirt, especially if it is bought and paid for by someone else. If shirt parades are to continue, we shall have to get someone to write a new song of the shirt. There are white shirts, black shirts, brown shirts, and all of them seem to be set against people with dirty shirts and those with no shirts at all. If present conditions continue much longer, and farmers and labour men are to have a C.C.F. uniform, they will, I fear, have to adopt the Gandhi style. If, however, all who are in danger of having no shirts stand together, they have nothing to fear from shirts of any colour.

We must never forget that we neither get brains nor knowledge from the colour of a shirt bought and paid for out of the spoils of our spoilers. Surely Fascism, with its glorification of war, its dictatorship, its disregard for the human personality, and above all its asininity, will not be attractive to the Canadian people. But let us not overlook the danger.

Another danger which I have already touched upon is that of war. Under capitalism, war is inevitable. But the danger which I want to emphasize is that of the possible destruction of civilization itself. We are assured that the last war, with all its murderous agencies, will be as child's play compared with the next. I shall spare you a description of its possibilities in destruction. Suffice it to say that the end of civilization is a possibility. Are we to acquiesce supinely in the hell-bound policies of Grits and Tories under capitalism? Again, are we, who are so anxious to avoid revolution because of its destructiveness and cruelty, much less countenance it as a policy, to allow ourselves to be led into an Armageddon ten thousand times more destructive and devilish?

CHAPTER II

FORCES ON THE CONSTRUCTIVE SIDE

Having reviewed the dangers, we must now enquire what are some of the forces which we may count upon to assist us in the struggle against the dangers to humanity which now lurk in world-conditions. Among the most important is that inherent urge toward life which philosophers have called "the will to live." Shall not the sense of new dangers stimulate in us that will, and awaken its inventive genius once again? This is not the first challenge which the race has had, to solve its problems or perish. Time after time, long before history began, such challenges were met victoriously. I feel convinced that this lifeward urge which brought the race from the very slime of incipient reason to the highest and most worthy achievements of the modern world will not forsake us on the very threshold of possibilities which alone can give meaning and purpose to the whole previous struggle.

New Social Devices

The period of the last two centuries or more was a time of mechanical invention. The pressure of economic scarcity stimulated the inventive genius of man, and he responded, achieving the possibility of abundance. The great need of today is for moral, social and intellectual devices. Again, the human mind is responding with hundreds of social devices, almost any one of which would be an improvement on no device at all.

The trouble is that we applied our mechanical devices to production, but so far refused to apply social devices. One of the encouraging features of the moment is the great response in the form of social devices to the need for distribution. It is true that many mechanical devices which were patented were impracticable failures, but others were workable. In the same way, there are doubtless impractical social devices projected in all good faith which neither should be nor can be applied. It is equally certain that there are devices now offered which are prac-

ticable, efficient, and which will be applied. It is significant of the future that social devices are coming, in response to our need. The C.C.F. believes the time has arrived to take some of these devices from their pigeon-holes.

The evolutionary processes which history records opened to all the oppressed of the modern world a door of hope. The present social order cannot in the very nature of things be the final form of society. That the capitalistic system is destined to die of its own accord, in spite of world conferences, or tariffs, or Fascism, affords some hope in itself.

Prosperity — A Form of Disease

Another attack of prosperity will probably be sufficient to kill the system. We have been assured by the editors and bankers that the returning fever of another attack of prosperity has registered itself upon the sensitiveness of the national thermometer. These people are jubilant over the rise in temperature, because they think that the patient when raving with fever shows more signs of life than when in a coma. Doctors better skilled in the art of social healing, if they were permitted to do so, could testify that there is a vast difference between the delirium of fever and the sanity of health.

After every attack of prosperity, unemployment is extended, the period of industrial prostration is more serious, human suffering is more widespread and intensified, and debts are incalculably greater. Do these blind leaders of the blind think that they can make us happy by telling us that the disease from which society is suffering is about to attack us again?

It will be better if we are permitted to remove from capitalism the burden of our national affairs which it is obviously unable to bear, and to place the responsibility on the shoulders of the Co-operative Commonwealth. But if it should happen that we are not allowed so to do, it is some encouragement to know that the system cannot go on much longer. It is destined to die, and the new one will assume the responsibilities of the old just as the

young people of any community take the places of their predecessors.

Ethical Forces Against Poverty

Then another hopeful sign is the possibility which now appears of enlisting the ethical and religious forces of civilization on the side of the masses in the coming struggle. It is now beyond question that every economic problem, since it has a direct bearing on human life and conduct, must have both an ethical and a religious significance. The conviction of this truth has been deepening, slowly it is true, but surely, for several generations. The social appeal of the churches of Canada has of late been more definite and courageous than usual, and the stand taken by them on several occasions during the past few years revives hope of moral leadership from that direction.

United Church and Capitalism

It is worthy of mention that, in Germany, the only real challenge so far to the ravaging of democracy by Hitler has come from the church. The Toronto Conference of the United Church of Canada was equally outspoken in 1933, when it declared in effect that capitalism is unchristian, and for that reason should be abolished. This declaration had nothing whatever to do with the C.C.F., of course. The United Church Conference made that declaration in the light of its own responsibility and in its own right. In doing so, it was not presuming to give advice on economic affairs, as some editorial critics suggested. It was giving advice on ethics and religion, fields in which it is qualified to speak with authority. It took that stand against capitalism in its capacity of Christian leadership. As intelligent and religious men, its leaders could do no other. For such men to give support to capitalism would be an insult to their intelligence and a disgrace to their religion.

The importance of this stand is that to the extent that our movement is ethical, that is, based on justice and consecrated whole-heartedly to human well-being.

we can rightly claim the moral support and good-will of those institutions which stand for Christian ethics as the basis of our social order. If the churches ever realize that the immorality of the present social order is equal to the human suffering it causes, Canada will at once demand a new deal. We are in hopes that the church will realize its duty, its influence and its power in this regard.

Lessons from Others

There is one other feature of the world-situation having to do with democracy, from which we who are striving to establish a co-operative commonwealth on a democratic basis may benefit greatly if we will. Experiments of vast importance to the future are now being made in several countries, such as Russia, Germany, Italy and the United States. It is unfortunate that other countries have not had the courage to try new ways, for the more varied the experiments the more certain would the world be of eventually finding the true course. Canada, for instance, like China and India, is trying nothing and getting nothing and adding nothing to the solution the world is seeking. But if and when our opportunity comes, as students we should be wise enough to avoid the reefs which have wrecked other democratic forces, and thus use their failures as a stepping-stone to success. President Roosevelt, we are led to believe, intends to inaugurate fundamental economic reforms and to do so under a democratic constitution. This would appear to be the sentiment of the C.C.F., and, while we agree with Mr. Roosevelt's democratic intentions, we do not yet know what economic dangers he will encounter, and so must await developments.

As for Russia, that country was so backward at the time of the Revolution that there are few points of comparison between her and Canada. Moreover, the public mind of this country has been so poisoned against the Russian experiment that it is doubtful if we are capable of learning all we might from Russia, assuming she has valuable lessons to teach. However, I think we can say, judging from reports, that even if Russia may have failed

from the democratic point of view, capitalism seems to have been beaten, and if that is true, that at least is a victory of world-importance.

The lessons for us to take from Germany and Great Britain are more obvious. Whatever excuses may be offered for the failure of the Social Democrats of Germany and the Labour Party of Great Britain, the fact is that both were wrecked on the rock of spineless compromises and unscientific gradualism. The Social Democrats of Germany had power: they failed to act. Their followers, discouraged, betrayed and beaten, fled to Nazism, partly in despair and partly in hope. But Herod slew the Democratic child, and, not content with that, slew also its mother — human liberty. In Great Britain, the democratic forces never really had power, but when in office the leaders of labour were afraid, and the movement temporarily lost some of the confidence it had gained.

Danger of Gradualism

Now there is something attractive about gradualism, and there is some truth in it, but there is dangerous error in it, too. The gradualism of Mr. Mackenzie King, for instance, who is the champion of that philosophy in this country, should be avoided like a plague. Under that banner the Liberal leader poses as a great reformer, but under it also he finds ample excuse for not reforming. His social programme under gradualism is like that of the Irish Town Council which had to build a jail. They decided to use the bricks from the old jail with which to build the new one, and at the same time to use the old jail while the new one was being built. Mr. King wants to build the new social order out of capitalism and at the same time to use capitalism while the new social order is being built; an absurdity to which he and his party alone could be expected to adhere.

To be sure, we must be gradual, because natural processes are gradual. But we must act definitely and specifically so that natural processes may have at least the seeds of a new social order upon which to perform the gradual operation. In other words, the new social order

must be definitely started somewhere before development, gradual or otherwise, can take place. If the C.C.F. comes to power in Canada, and fails to begin the new order, namely, to plant the seeds of co-operation, it will deserve the anathema of history which will surely follow. We should be able to turn even the failures of Mr. King into victories by being careful to avoid the path which he followed.

CHAPTER III

THE C.C.F. A LOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

Having reviewed the world-situation in general and noted its points of imminent danger as well as the forces available for reconstruction, we have now to inquire whether the fundamental principles and policies of the C.C.F. movement, as stated in its manifesto, are sufficient to measure up to the requirements of the times. Is there any power, or scheme, or personality, which, taken together or separately, will save us, except insofar as that power is used by us, that scheme is made our own, and that personality expresses us? Is it not true that we must help ourselves? If, then, we decide to help ourselves, is there any way in which we can do so except through organization and education? Is there a single shred of hope that the world can be saved by individualism and competition? Should we not now be thoroughly convinced that individualism and competition are destructive forces in the body politic, and that our only refuge is in co-operation?

The renouncing of individualism with its destructive competitive methods, and the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth through the intelligent action of a well-informed, organized people, were and are the foundation principles of our movement. They are more evidently sound and necessary today than ever. Are we now ready and willing to apply them? The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation took its rise as a federation of similar units in co-operation for political power, the chief object of attaining political power being to establish co-operative principles in the sphere of economics.

Autonomous Units

Notwithstanding this Federation, the individual unit within the Federation is still absolute master in its own particular sphere. But in addition to its particular activities, that is, those things which concern the immediate interests of the group, each has undertaken to co-operate with other units in wider matters of common interest, and

to reach, if possible, a working basis with those other organizations in cases in which the particular interests of the various groups may clash, and thus prevent our arriving together at the goal of a common purpose. The C.C.F. does not, therefore, desire, nor will it attempt to dominate any of the individual groups; neither will any group dominate the C.C.F. The Federation, dealing as it must with issues of general interest, must decide upon its policies through mutual understanding and arrangements between the groups composing the Federation.

Each unit in the larger body will have its influence and add its contribution so long as it remains a unit therein. And it is likely to remain a unit as long as its principles can be achieved in that way—more easily and more thoroughly than otherwise.

Individual Group Alone Helpless

Without the C.C.F. or some such movement, a single group such as the U.F.A., the U.F.O., or the Labour Party, can never reach its most desired objectives by its own efforts alone. Labour men in our cities do not and cannot join the farmers' organization, professional men cannot and do not join with either farmers or labourers. Nevertheless, these people must all be brought to act together in matters of national policy.

The farmers, of course, could not undertake the task of achieving its larger objective of the cooperative commonwealth alone. The reasons for that are surely obvious. The farmers acting alone have not sufficient power to make effective any national policy which they might evolve, no matter how good and desirable their policy might be. Neither have the farmers ever claimed the right as an exclusive body, nor have they the right if they did claim it, to apply such a policy, even if they had the power to do so. These facts of both practical and democratic urgency applicable to farmers' organizations, and equally applicable to other groups, left the co-operation of the various groups within a federation as the only way out.

In taking that co-operative step into the C.C.F., the individual unit extended its influence almost immediately in a manner and to an extent which it would have been quite unable to do otherwise. Thus the principles of each unit find a place in national policy. That policy is being sincerely and ably promoted by hundreds of thousands of our citizens who otherwise would not have been interested, the mutual support of the groups giving as it does new life and great encouragement to each unit. It is a fact that, through the C.C.F., the principles of the various units, embodied as they are in the manifesto of the Federation, constitute today the only effective challenge to individualism and competition in this country.

CHAPTER IV

AN ADEQUATE PROGRAMME

The C.C.F. programme which as we have seen embodies the philosophy of its various units, is adequate to meet the whole complicated problem which challenges us. That is to say, the application of the principle of science and co-operation to any given situation, in order that the highest and most equitable human ends may be attained, will solve any problem at any time if its solution lies within human power. It is on these grounds and not on that of any particular doctrine or "ism" that the C.C.F. must be differentiated from all other political parties. There is no other political party in this country which believes in applying scientific principles to economic policy through national planning; none of them has renounced competition and adopted co-operation; and neither Grits nor Tories are prepared to allow the food, clothing, shelter and happiness of our people to take precedence over profit, interest, debt, and contractual obligations.

Scientific Rather Than Doctrinaire

It is important for us to recognize the fact that the C.C.F. programme is what it is, not because of any doctrine of any party, but because in our opinion it meets adequately the situation with which we are faced. In other words, the facts are first discovered and carefully examined, and then scientific principles are applied in dealing with the facts on their merits and not according to some doctrine. For this reason, the C.C.F. cannot properly be placed in any one of the dusty political pigeon-holes of the last century. We have no doctrinaire fiddlesticks to defend, nor in accordance with which our actions are influenced or limited. We have no grim skeleton in our closet to wiggle his dry bones in our faces when we depart from what was once regarded as an infallible doctrine. We say to all such skeletons, "If what you said fifty, a hundred, or a thousand years ago squares with the facts of this situation we congratulate you on the vision you possessed; but frankly, we are not looking

at you at all; we are not interested in you; we are interested in these facts of our own time, which we must meet squarely if we are to live." If, then, what the C.C.F. is, is Socialism, so much the better for Socialism, but that is not the reason we are in favour of it. We are what we are because the situation we have to face is what it is. We espouse no "ism"; our programme is vital and creative, rather than doctrinaire.

A "Humanity First" Movement

Further, be it said, we of the C.C.F. movement believe that human life is the sole reason for an economic system of any sort at any time; that the system we have now defeats that purpose for which alone it can be justified by human beings, namely, the supplying of all human needs adequately for the body, the mind and the spirit. Therefore, "Humanity First", and the application of scientific methods in bringing into harmony with that purpose every policy, economic, political or social, are the sum and substance of both the objectives and methods of the movement.

It is essential to point out the primary economic origin of the programme and its realism as to facts; also its practicability through scientific knowledge and from the standpoint of its democratic and idealistic principles. As to the origin of our programme in the economic needs of the groups composing the C.C.F., there can be no doubt whatever; all the groups in the Federation were organized in the first place to deal with the economic facts, and in response to those facts each group expressed its particular needs and methods. Those group-opinions and findings taken together became the basis of our Manifesto, which in turn represents the co-operative viewpoint in regard to which we have arrived at substantial agreement.

Moreover, each of the groups found after years of experience that its economic difficulties emanated from certain inherent weaknesses and injustices of the capitalist system, and thus there was no difficulty in all groups agreeing to work together for the replacing of the present

economic system by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another shall be eliminated. We are, therefore, not a reform party but a movement which took its rise in economic oppression, and flows toward economic freedom and human well-being as its objectives.

Programme Based on Fundamentals

Our policies and propaganda deal with fundamental matters, and in this way we differ from ordinary political organizations. As is well known, political parties, in Canada at least, usually ignore fundamental facts pertaining to economics, and base their propaganda on some trivial sentimentality or scandal. Of course, it is not to the credit of democracy that such appeals have been successful; but again it is a fact that in the past they have been. Political methods of that sort, however, are losing their appeal as education advances, and as the influence of science stimulates the public mind to search for facts.

There are Facts and "Facts"

Let it be noted that I am now placing emphasis upon the fundamental character of the facts used as the basis of the C.C.F. policy in contradiction to those non-essential facts and half-truths which usually form the bases of political party platforms. For instance, it is a fact, as Mr. Mackenzie King asserts, that the Conservative party did raise the tariff under Mr. Bennett's direction a little higher than the Liberals had it. On this fact Mr. King seeks election. Assuming that to the said increase in tariff can be attributed the disaster of the depression, he accordingly promises to reduce the tariff. But the fundamental fact is that tariffs are indispensable to the capitalist system, and that the requirements of the system determine the raising or lowering of the tariff. Therefore, if Mr. King had been in Mr. Bennett's place at the moment, he would have retained the tariff just as Mr. Bennett did, except that he might have made slight alterations in unimportant items such as "cut flowers" and

"hay", so as to justify Liberals in talking lower tariffs. Again, it is a fact, as some Liberals state, that the public debt has greatly increased. But it is a more fundamental fact that it is impossible to carry on government under the present system without going into debt, or to avoid going more rapidly into debt as the system develops than governments formerly did. Therefore, since the second fact is the fundamental one, it follows that electing the Liberal party will not mean that we stop going into debt. Indeed, it is likely to mean an increase in public debt even beyond that amount by which it would have to be increased normally under any other government. At least, that would be in keeping with the record of previous Liberal administrations.

It is not enough to gather facts. There is needed a power of discrimination as between facts. There must be an ability on the part of the leaders of political parties and movements to discern between the essential and the non-essential; the fundamental and the incidental, the "causal" fact and the "effectual" fact. The C.C.F. has based its programme on "causal" facts, or if you like, "factual causes".

Tariff Policy Necessary to Capitalist System

Since the tariff question is the sum and substance of the Liberal gospel, something more should properly be said here about it. The fact of the matter is that although the tariff policy now applied by every nation of the world is foolish, unjust, and even criminal, it is necessary under an economic system which is more foolish, more unjust, and more criminal. If this statement be true, then the Liberal party in Canada was, and is, in error in supporting an economic system within which tariffs are inevitable. If this statement is not true, and therefore it is possible for Canada to wipe out tariffs, then the Liberal party is unworthy of even respect, let alone trust. For if Canada could get along under capitalism without tariffs, then what excuse can the Liberal party offer for its failure to wipe out tariffs during the many years in which Liberals formed the government of this country?

There are more reasons for tariffs than one. They have been used to assist the development of new industries, and misused by governments to give protective privileges to private monopolies, or other powerful established enterprises which under the protection given them can become successful without being efficient; they have been used to give great advantages to the friends of governments; they have been imposed in some cases as a means of raising revenue, but, while tariff is an easy way of collecting money, it is always a very unjust way. It has been imposed as a means of protecting the trade of a nation in the face of vanishing world-markets due to machine-production under capitalism. But the real reason for tariffs is a financial one.

Real Reason Financial

A nation with a foreign debt can pay its interest and reduce its debt to its foreign creditors only by shipping out more goods than it receives from abroad. The toll of the financier must be collected, and, therefore, if in the the natural order of events the debtor nation's foreign trade is in balance, or if a little more has been shipped in than has been shipped out, some artificial means must be employed in order to "unbalance" the trade, so that foreign creditors may be able to collect their toll.

Great Britain is the world's best illustration of the true reason for tariffs. That country was the first country in the world to produce goods by machinery. She therefore had the whole world as her market for a time without a rival. Having been first in the field of international trade, Great Britain held an advantage over other nations when, subsequently, competition for world markets became intense. The result was that almost every country in the world was in Great Britain's debt. Free trade for her was therefore a necessity, since the only way she could collect her foreign debts was by accepting goods from foreign nations freely.

The Great War changed the whole picture. Great Britain passed from being a creditor to a debtor nation. She must therefore contrive to ship out more goods to

her creditors than she shipped in, or default. In an effort to escape the consequences of defaulting, she imposed a tariff. These are the facts. They tell us that in a world over-supplied with goods to be sold at a profit, when a nation in that world has a foreign debt, tariffs are universally resorted to as a means of enabling one nation to meet its financial obligations to another.

When Great Britain was the creditor nation of the world it was fortunate for the world, because Britain required large amounts of raw material and foodstuffs, and thus enabled the debtor nations to meet at least the interest on their indebtedness. By this means the capitalist system was kept alive. But when the United States of America exchanged places with Britain as the creditor nation, things began to happen, because the United States of America was almost self-supporting, having an abundance of the goods in which other nations might otherwise have met their financial obligations. Since the United States of America produced more than sufficient foodstuffs for her people at home, and had abundance of raw material for her factories, she could not accept payment in these commodities. If she could have done so she would have adopted free trade as Britain did, and capitalism would have gone on much more satisfactorily. In fact, the bondholders of the United States of America have been advocating tariff reduction, regardless of its effect on industry. The important fact is that a debtor nation must export more than it imports or default, and tariffs are conveniently used to keep imports less than exports. Canada must retain tariffs under present world conditions and under the present system, or default, and it is safe to say that a Liberal government in the future will, for this reason, retain the tariff as was done by Liberals in the past.

There is, of course, this to be said about tariffs. Canada should be in a position to export goods which other nations want, in exchange for the importation of goods which we want, without charging tariffs on the transaction. The C.C.F. proposes to meet that situation in another way, namely, by putting both our exports and im-

ports in the hands of a Board, which Board, being responsible to the government, shall be empowered to exchange goods freely with any country which desires to do so. In that way, we would arrange to keep out of debt in the future by exporting goods to the value of our imports on all current trade, and to arrange, if possible, to export goods to our creditors in payment of our debts.

Magic Does Not Bring Results

There is no intelligent direction given to the economic life of Canada at the present time. Both parties in the past have agreed that none should be given, or even attempted. Liberals and Conservatives alike have held that Capitalism under "laissez faire" will, through competition for profit, automatically result in the best possible conditions of life for humanity. Of late, the Conservatives have shown tendencies to depart from this view, in their desire to control marketing and to limit production. However, there is simply no connection between the blind scramble for profits and the well-being of the masses. Moreover, it is a fact that capitalism has not worked out to the best interests of the people. It has led to debt, bankruptcy, unemployment, starvation, civil war, and international butchery. The C.C.F. is not surprised at the results of capitalism, — they were inevitable under that system. Since there was no planned direction toward human ends, it would have been an accident if the goal of human ends had been thus arrived at. And no such accident happened. In keeping, then, with the facts, we propose to take no chances that an undirected system will arrive at the best human results; we propose to plan and direct our economic system with that purpose in view, and not entrust ourselves to political magic.

A Cloud of Dust

In reply to this position, and being unable to deny the irresistible conclusion from the facts, the servants of capitalism who have escaped the bread line in the scramble, perhaps more by good luck than good management,

take refuge in metaphysics. They say it might have been worse if it had been planned, meaning, of course, that they might have been in the bread-line themselves instead of those who are there now. Anyhow, they shout, "Where are your facts to prove that things would have been better if they had been planned?" That cloud of dust stirred up in lieu of an argument is supposed to be unanswerable. And so it is. The highest wisdom could not answer the question of a fool. How does anybody know that the wreck which happened because a man fell asleep at the switch would not have happened if he had kept awake? How does anyone know that if the man who lost his direction in the bush without a compass, and was frozen to death, would not have frozen to death at some other time, had he escaped on that occasion? Or how can anyone prove to a steamship company that if they throw overboard all instruments of navigation, discharge their navigators, and turn their ships loose to the Gulf Stream and the trade winds, their ships will arrive at their ports of destination as safely and regularly as now? The only possibility of being able to answer a question like that is to be a bigger fool than the person who asked it.

Other Pertinent Facts

Take another fact which is fundamental to economic conditions. It is that private ownership of natural resources, of the machinery of production and of finance, has resulted in the enrichment of the few and the impoverishment of the many. Our policy, based on that fact, is to socialize the ownership and control of these important means of wealth production. In doing so, we hold the view that, since the private ownership of these fundamental factors of economic life has resulted beneficially to the few who owned them, the collective ownership of these things will result in collective benefits.

Another fact is that we have sufficient natural resources, plant equipment and technical skill to enable us to produce abundance of food, clothing and shelter for all our people. It is a fact that we have already produced

sufficient of these commodities for all of them, but it is also a fact that everybody has not got sufficient food, clothing and shelter. Many are in want, and nearly all are cursed by the fear of want. What answer have the defenders of the private ownership of public property to that? Nothing but a quotation, "The poor ye have always with you", which, hypocritically used in defence of capitalism, is sacrilegious in the crudest and most diabolical sense. But their answer to these facts in their actions is to curtail production, destroy wealth, so as to produce a scarcity, so as to force prices to a profit level regardless of human want and suffering. Our policy, based on the actual facts of the situation as given, is to distribute the goods produced, to satisfy the needs of the people, and thus to fulfill the human purposes which we have set for industry, as planned, to achieve.

Practical and Scientific

I have made these references to certain facts underlying the programme of the C.C.F., chiefly in order that I might draw attention to their very important implications, namely, the practicability of our proposals and the scientific character of our method.

To have a basis in fact is the first essential of science, and at the same time the highest possible guarantee of practicability. A political policy which ignores fundamental economic facts is impracticable. The low-tariff policies of the Liberals and the high-tariff policies of the Conservatives are classical examples. Elsewhere I have dealt at length with the impracticability of both capitalism and its two historic political servants. I shall not emphasize it further here, but would say of both parties in this connection, what I believe it was Josh Billings had occasion to say, that "they know so many things that ain't so".

Since it is a fact that there are resources, and means of producing abundance for all, surely it is practical to arrange that all shall have abundance; since it is a fact that the banks have control of money through an Act of Parliament, what is there about taking that control

from them by another Act of Parliament? Since farmers' debts were doubled by an act of government in going back on the gold basis, is there anything impractical about reversing the gear and thus wiping out the debts thus unjustly created? And so one might go on through the whole programme and find that, since every part of it is based on fact, it is intensely practical throughout.

Policy of Both Parties Impractical

Contrast our proposals in their practicability as squaring with the facts of the situation, with that of the platforms of Liberals and Tories, both of which rest upon assumptions, obvious errors or slushy sentimentalities. Think, for instance, of Mr. Bennett, who declared that he was going to blast his way into the markets of the world; or of Mr. King, who suggests that by fawning diplomacy he can sneak his way into the markets of the world. Both are equally impractical, since the fact is that under Capitalism there are no markets in the world into which persons or nations can either blast or sneak their way. On the other hand, if a world-market really existed, it would mean that one nation wanted to trade one sort of goods with another nation for another sort of goods. If that condition actually existed there would be no need to "blast" or "fawn", for such countries, aware of mutual advantage, would go ahead and trade.

In Harmony with Human Nature

Recognizing the facts as we do, it is possible to apply scientific methods to the working out of our policy. Not much more can be done here than merely to hint at some of the things which are meant by applying science to economics, to government and to social institutions generally. As already pointed out, it would mean that there would have to be careful adherence to all economic facts which properly have a bearing on the policy to be adopted in connection with these institutions, and that there would have to be careful plans made in accordance with those facts, with a view to achieving the true purpose of an economic system, which is the service of all the people.

In a word, we must bring the same scientific methods to bear on social relationships which scientists and technicians have brought to bear on industry throughout our industrial history.

Since a new social order must be worked out for and by people, law as well as economic practice will both have to be scientifically adjusted to the requirements of human nature. I mention this because those who defend capitalism contend (for what reason I do not know), that capitalism is more in harmony with human nature than the co-operative commonwealth would be. If that were so, then I should say that capitalism was more scientific than the co-operative commonwealth.

The Appeal to Youth

I have selected a situation now existing in Canada to illustrate this point, and one which is vital to the whole discussion about the C.C.F. and human nature. The Canadian Life Assurance Association, in an advertisement in the Toronto "Saturday Night", unintentionally reveals the choice which human nature will make as between capitalism and the commonwealth. The Toronto "Saturday Night" stands very high in capitalistic journalism. The Canadian Life Assurance Association, striving for a reputation for accuracy and dependability, and having at its disposal all the facts bearing on the matter with which its advertisement dealt, cannot be dismissed lightly. Any matter bearing on capitalism, appearing in such a capitalist journal and from such a capitalist source, must be regarded as authoritative. Here is the advertisement:

"THE FUTURE.

What Happens to 100 Average Men of 25 Upon Reaching the Age of 65?

Only one will be wealthy;

Four will be well-to-do and able to enjoy comfort and recreation;

Five will be working for a living, with no prospects of relief from drudgery;

Thirty-five will have died, in many cases leaving families enduring hardships;

Fifty-five will be dependent upon friends or relatives or charity."

Could there be penned by any critic of capitalism an indictment more damning than that? These statements are not the so-called irresponsible propaganda of Communists. These statements are facts. And what a picture they make! What a prospect for young Canadians! One out of every hundred will be wealthy; fifty-five of them will be receiving charity; thirty-five will leave their children to face indescribable hardship and will give up the struggle; ninety-five percent of all between 25 and 65 years of age are destined to economic disaster. Show that picture to any hundred young people and then ask them to vote for capitalism. Show them that picture and ask them to vote for those who stand for capitalism. Watch their reactions and then tell me whether or not human nature is working for capitalism. I venture to say that if the actual facts of capitalism were brought as forcibly to every person of voting age as that advertisement puts them, human nature would permit only one out of every hundred to vote for capitalism.

CHAPTER V

A NATIONAL PURPOSE

The inference to be drawn from my presentation of the factual basis of our programme, its practicability and the use of scientific methods in achieving its objectives, is that it is adequate to the times and conditions, and that by following it in a planned national economy the economic requirements of the people would be reasonably secure. A programme of a new social order, or of an old order, for that matter, which does not do more than provide economic necessities is not adequate. There are rational and ethical necessities to be thought of as well as the economic, if life is to be made worth while for any human being.

Life without a purpose, or with a purpose which does not rise above a struggle to exist just for the sake of existing is satisfactory neither to our rational nor to our ethical requirements. Life without a purpose great enough to sum up humanity at its highest and best cannot meet the intellectual and moral requirements of our people. If life has no such purpose, we must make one which shall be great enough and worthy enough to be the reason for every effort and every institution of mankind.

The C.C.F. offers such a national purpose to our Dominion; a purpose which gives unity and noble meaning to our individual and collective action. Not, of course, a national purpose in the limited jingoistic sense, but national in that every agency operating within the body politic known as Canada must justify its existence through service, to the end that Canadians, individually and as a body politic may be healthier, wiser, nobler and happier human beings.

Canada Going Nowhere

A social purpose is not a mechanical and automatic response to supply and demand on a basis of prices and profits. That, of course, is all that we have for a purpose in capitalist society. Rather, a social purpose is the

will to attain a consciously chosen end, regarded as worthy in itself of all life's effort, and toward the achievement of which every mechanical device, every institution, industrial, educational, social or governmental, is directed.

Canada as a unit of the world's population, or as a nation, if you like, has no conscious, all-pervading, supreme purpose giving direction to what we are all doing. If we have, who can say what it is? True, we are all struggling against ourselves in our effort to exist, but we do that precisely because we lack purpose. Now, an individual or a nation, or a civilization without a purpose, will arrive nowhere. Canada is just going nowhere.

What a Purpose Can Do

Canada had a temporary purpose for four years from 1914 to 1918. That purpose was to win or help win a war. It was all-pervading; to it, all things and people were subservient. Under its influence and direction we really achieved something which was more noble and more serviceable than the realization of the purpose itself. Guided by it we leapt over the hurdles of the Constitution, threw the gold basis and "sound money" into the abyss of superstition from which they came, made farmers extend their acreage and fixed maximum prices for their products so that they could not profiteer like the capitalists did. We compelled industrialists to make shells and torpedoes instead of cigar-lighters and golf balls; commanded chemists to make poison gas instead of cosmetics, and to martial airs we marched our young men from home and life to nameless graves in foreign lands. And in the very joy of a conscious and united effort we were happier, despite the sorrow for our dead, than we had ever been before or have been since those fateful years!

That is what a purpose can do, and that was an inhuman and destructive purpose. Just think of what we could do with a constructive and human purpose for Canada. That is precisely what the C.C.F. offers — a purpose to put in the place of a fear-urge or a profit-lust, which unifies instead of disrupts and leads to mutuality rather than conflict; a purpose as wise as our best wisdom,

as noble as the morals of our religion, directing us in that same joy of creative activity toward the feeding, clothing, sheltering, educating of Canadians, and making them happy, which a less worthy purpose gave when we were all bent on killing our fellow-men.

Is the Ideal too High?

We are told by those whose feet are in the troughs of a capitalistic surplus, that Canadians cannot respond to an ideal as high as that. If that be true, we might well give a universal welcome to Huxley's providential comet to come quickly and end it all. I shall leave Canadians to deal with that insult as they see fit. For my own part, I hold that the most irreligious infidel of modern times, as well as the most miserable and meaningless creature on the face of the earth, is the person whose moral turpitude prevents him from believing in the capacity of human beings to respond and rise to the good, the true and the beautiful.

Happily for us, it is possible to reorganize society on the basis of economic facts, to apply science to all its affairs, and at the same time to retain our ideal of a noble human purpose. Indeed, without such a purpose our economic life is merely the cruellest and bloodiest jungle known to the animal kingdom.

Mr. King and Civil War

We propose to reorganize our social order in Canada, and to do this, as far as we are concerned, "within the frame-work of the Constitution," to borrow a phrase from President Roosevelt, and without physical violence of any sort. The extreme left tell us that this can't be done; the extreme right say the same. Even Mr. Mackenzie King, who has churned up more froth about democracy and the Constitution in his four-hour speeches in Parliament than any other living Canadian, declares that civil war will result when we apply our policy of socialization. The inference is obvious. Mr. King threatens us that, if the people of Canada in a constitutional manner obtain power to alter the economic system, and pro-

ceed to do so, those he serves will start a civil war. But with all that we have nothing whatever to do. We are working under the Constitution. If Mr. King and a few of his capitalistic supporters are intent upon starting a civil war to frustrate the will of the people; if they decide to smash the Constitution themselves rather than allow the people to have justice, then on their heads be the responsibility.

We have been led to believe, especially by the arguments of Mr. King, that under our Constitution, the people of Canada, by the use of their ballot, may bring into being and operate the best government and implement the best legislation of which they are capable; that even the Constitution itself may be changed to conform to higher and better forms of Government. On these grounds, it has been argued that those who are prepared to use violence to gain such changes are not only unconstitutional, but that such action is unwarranted and unnecessary, since if the people desire change they may obtain it by constitutional means. If that is not true, then the popular idea that we have a democratic constitution is a lie, and the sooner we find that out the better. The C.C.F., however, knows as much about the Constitution as Mr. King, and has a greater respect for it. Under its liberties we proceed to invite the people of Canada to change our social order by their ballot.

Will He Keep His Promise?

Mr. King went further than threatening civil war against the C.C.F. When campaigning in Saskatchewan in 1933 he promised to leave Canada if and when the C.C.F. comes to power, whereupon about 125,000 Canadians in British Columbia rushed to the polls and voted for the C.C.F. Now if the people of Canada could only believe Mr. King when he promises to leave Canada when the C.C.F. comes to power, there would be no doubt about their voting for it, but he has made so many promises that remain unfulfilled that many do not believe him.

At any rate, his inference appears to be that his masters, the capitalists, would rather start a civil war

against the Constitution than allow the people by the Constitution to obtain their rights; but that in the meantime he will leave the country during that civil war.

Who Will Fight?

Of course, we are never in any doubt as to what the leaders of Capitalism and their flunkys would *like* to do. We know that they would start a civil war rather than yield their privileges by constitutional means, provided they could get anybody to fight for them. But Mr. King assures us that he won't fight; that he will leave the country. Who, then, are going to fight? The financial oligarchy can't fight and they won't. It is too dangerous. Will the people between twenty-five and sixty-five years of age, 90% of whom, as has been noted above, have nothing to look forward to under capitalism but the workhouse and charity, start a civil war against themselves for capitalists? We doubt it. But if they do, then indeed this world has been well described as the lunatic asylum of the universe.

In any case, the C.C.F. seeks power under the Constitution. If we thus get power, we shall have in our hands all the means which democracy has provided for its defence. So that, if Mr. King's masters, who, he threatens, will start civil war, and whom he then threatens to desert, want to violate the Constitution by so doing, we shall be in a position to deal with them in a perfectly constitutional way.

Build a Classless Society

Closely associated with the democratic principle which we propose to retain in spite of Mr. King's threats of civil war, is our determination to build up a classless society: that is, a society in which no man, no matter how great or clever he may be, shall be permitted to exploit others. If under such system we still have great men who persist in showing their greatness by the success they attain by extracting pennies from children, we shall have to devise some other test of greatness for their conven-

ience. Those who measure their greatness by the extent of their possessions are really so small that in a decent society they would never be seen at all.

The right under capitalism of one class to exploit another has produced class-antagonism. The class which exploits rules, the class exploited rebels if there is enough intelligence and spirit among them. We are ruled by such a class now. St. James Street is its seat of power. While we propose to stop that class from exploiting the rest of us, we do so not in any spirit of class hatred. — it will be for their good ultimately as well as ours. We hope that no ex-capitalist will ever go as hungry or as homeless as he, through his exploitations, has compelled many of us to go.

While it may be impossible at this stage of the struggle to eliminate class-antagonism entirely, the C.C.F., standing as it does for a classless society, studiously avoids the dangerous, if powerful, appeal of class-hatred. We seek to smother, rather than fan that scorching flame, and advance our claim to power on scientific and ethical grounds. Our appeal is one of mutuality and trust — the appeal of co-operation. This may not preclude conflict, but if conflict comes we shall meet it in the knowledge that our victory will be as beneficial for our antagonists as it will be for ourselves.

The Immediate Task

Our immediate task in the great struggle ahead is obviously to perfect our organization — the instrument of our emancipation. I know of no new way of doing that. Organization and education and more organization and more education are the means. The present situation, however, with its fears, uncertainties and sufferings, on the one hand, and the dawn of the great hope made possible through the C.C.F., on the other, should stimulate every Canadian citizen to action as they have never before been stirred. We are holding one sector in the long line of advance. Let us be sure that neither Grits nor Tories nor Fascists shall break through where we are. Let us respond to the great and noble purpose the

C.C.F. has set for Canada as willingly and actively and as consciously as we responded to that of winning a war. Let us prove to history that we can rise to a purpose worthy of human beings.

Our immediate economic objective under the C.C.F. will be to abolish debt; to abolish unemployment; to do what can be done on a co-operative basis to abolish war, and to give leisure, abundance and peace to all our people.

The slogans I would suggest in regard to that immediate program are:

"It can be done!" "It must be done!" "We will do it!"



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